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AUTHOR Szabo, Mate
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ABSTRACT

The contradictions of political education in East European socialist countries based on the Hungarian experience are explored in this paper. Divided into three parts, the first part gives a brief sketch of institutionalized political education, while the second concerns the crisis of Hungary's political education emerging in the 1980s. In the third part, the alternatives to official political education are examined including subcultures, social movements and other types of informal groups. A supplement is included that briefly mentions changes in Hungary that occurred between 1988 and 1989. (DB)

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Maté Szabó*

Political Education in Hungary

In this paper, I intend to analyze the contradictions, even the schizophrenia of the political education in East European socialist countries on the basis of the Hungarian experience. I believe that there is much in common in the political education of the state socialist countries, especially the Eastern European ones. Although my analysis is based exclusively on the Hungarian society, the findings of this paper have, to a certain extent, a general validity for political education in Eastern Europe in general.

The paper consists of three parts. In the first I give a brief sketch of institutionalized political education, in the second I write about the crisis of Hungary's political education emerging in the 80's. Finally, the alternatives to official political education are examined including subcultures, social movements and other types of informal groups. The author's research is part of a research project on the sociology of youth organized by the Budapest Institute of Social Sciences.

In Fig. 1. one finds the structural outline of Hungary's political education. Letters and numbers in the text refer to this figure. I try to explain the Hungarian system of political education and its problems in terms of this model. As one sees, there are three columns named: Governmental (A), Political (B), Social (C). These are the three sections of the system of political education in Hungary. Governmental political education is a part of the general system of state education (A 1–3–4–5), and it is directed by the Ministry of Culture and Education (MM). With the exeption of the churches, which have some secondary schools and faculties for theology, the state has a monopoly on education. There are governmental organizations which are not part of the system of state education but have important functions in political education. Ministries, governmental offices, the army, the police etc. provide special courses in political education which does not belong, or belongs only partly to the authority of the Ministry of Culture (A 2). Among the governmental institutions of political education, which belong to the Ministry of Culture, we can distinguish between general political education or "civic education" (A 3–5), and special, mainly postgradual management training courses for special type of leaders (A 1).

Section B describes the institutions of legal political organizations not belonging to the sphere of the state. As in other socialist countries, the organiza-

* Dr. Máté Szabó, University ELTE Faculty of State and Law, Political Science Research Group; Hungary.

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tions mentioned in this section are the most powerful shapers of politics. The East-European state socialist political systems are dominated by a single party. Accordingly, the first organization mentioned here is the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (B 1), the only legal political party in Hungary after 1948. The party has its own central Academy for Politics in Budapest, and a local network providing political education, called evening classes in Marxism-Lenin-

I. The System of Political Education in Hungary

Figure 1: the System of Political Education in Hungary

A. *Governmental*
1. *Gradual and post-gradual trainings*
National Management Centre (OVK) for the economy
Management Institute of the Ministry of Culture for cultural administration
High School for Administration (AIF) for the public administration
2. *Special management trainings*
Organized by ministries, offices, army etc.
3. *Universities and colleges*
Students aged 18–30, tutition is provided in "scientific socialism" or "political science"
4. *Secondary schools*
Learners aged 14–18, receive education in recent history or "social philosophy"
5. *Primary schools*
Children aged 6–14, receive education in "citizens' knowledge"

B. *Political*
1. *Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party* (MSZMP)
The Academy of Politics (MSZMP PF)
Evening classes in Marxism-Leninism (national network)
2. *Social organizations or "pseudo-movements"*
Trade-unions (SZOT), Peace Council (OBT), Patriotic People's Front (HNF)
3. *The Communist Youth Association* (KISZ)
Council for High Schools (EFT)
4. *The Communist Youth Association* (KISZ)
Council for Secondary Schools (KSZT)
5. *Pioneer's Organization* (MUSZ)
Children aged 6–14

C. *Social*
1. *Dissidents*
a) free universities, b) samisdat press, c) public debates
2. *Unofficial social movements*
a) peace, b) ecology, c) clubs, associations
3. *Student movement*
a) self-government in the student hostels, b) social-political clubs, c) Alliance of the Young Democrats (FIDESZ)
4. *Secondary schools*
a) Reform tests, b) Experiments in school self-governement, c) Informal groups and subcultures
5. *Political socialization in an early age*
a) family, b) subcultures, c) churches, scout organizations

ism (B 1). The aim of this educational structure is to educate party functionaires and politicians in post-graduate and other forms. Other legal political organizations, like the trade-unions, Peace Council etc. also have their own courses in political education (B 2).

There is a major difference between those governmental and political institutions specializing only in the political eduation of youth (A 3–5, B 3–5), and other ones which are attended mainly by adults aged over 30 (A 1–2, B 1–2). The political institutions of the political education directed towards the youth are structured according to the levels of the state education system: the pioneer's organization for school children aged 6–14, and the Communist Youth Association for young people in secondary schools and tertiary-level education aged 14–18 and 18–30.

The Pioneer's Organization is the only legal political organization for children in Hungary. Above the age of 14, (on the secondary school and university level) the Communist Youth Association has been the only legal political organization of youth in Hungary since 1957. Both organizations have a major role in political education and socialization in Hungary. The Pioneer's Organizations are directed by school teachers who are also members of the Communist Party and by young people who have alredy become members of the Communist Youth Association. The Association is led by the Party, it is the youth organization of the Party.

Structure and character of the system of political education are to a great extent shaped by the political institutions of Hungary. The political system is dominated by the Party, and due to its overall power potential, the governmental and other political institutions are linked and affiliated with each other.[1] This situation results in special problems. Compared with Western countries, within the school system or outside, the education of self-conscious citizens (civic education) is rather weak. Although there is a school subject called "citizens' knowledge" (A 5), it is so simplistic that it obviously has to be changed.

At the secondary schools (A 4) there is no special school subject on politics. We can find some information on politics or on political theory in the textbook of history and philosophy or social theory. At the universities and academies, education is provided in "scientific-socialism" (A 3) of the political theory of the Marxism-Leninism, and in these courses the issues of Hungary's recent history are also dealt with. Nowadays, these courses are sharply criticized and the need to provide courses in political science has also been voiced. The political education of young people is the task of the political organization of youth: as a result, there is no effective civic education in Hungary. I shall speak later about the efficiency of political education within this political organizations. Here it is important to stress that the general problem of the political system in Hungary, the lack of differentation between the governement

[1] Mihály Bihari: "Reform és demokrácia" [Reform and Democracy], in: *Medvetánc*, 2/1987, Special issue.

and the Party reflects the structural problems of political education, the underdevelopment of civic education and the undifferentiated character of the political education of youth in the political organizations.

The other problem is the monolithic character of the dominating political institutions. Only tenets of communist and Marxist-Leninist political science are taught in the institutions of political education, and governmental political education is also dominated by this. Stemming from the logic of the system there is no room left for pluralism in the system of political education. In spite of this, political sociology has shown that there is a differentiated public in Hungary, especially among youth and intellectuals.[2] This fact causes a schizophrenia of the political education between myths and reality.

II. The Dysfunctions and the Crisis of the Institutionalized Political Education

An attempt is made to sum up the problems of the institutionalized political education in Hungary which led to its crisis in the 80's. I deal with the system of political education as a whole, but I concentrate on the problem of the political education of youth in Hungary, which is connected with the problems of political socialization.

1. *Monolithic character.*
There is little or almost no pluralism in the institutionalized system of political education. There is no free choice of subjects to someone who studies politics in Hungary. Youngsters belong to a political organization with a monopoly on the representation of youth, and adults are also "channelled" according to their professional basis within the system. This structure, should spread a monolithic value system and political philosophy.

2. *From compulsory participation to the "selective incentives"*
The compulsory character dominated the political education until 1956. Very much reminescent of Orwell's anti-utopia, "1984", in the fifties, that is in the Stalinist era, it was a duty for everybody to participate in a form of political education. Since the failure of the so-called "personality cult", there is more

[2] András Bozóki: "Kritikai attitüdök a fiatal értelmiség körében" [Critical Attitudes Among Young Intellectuals], in: *Ifjúsági Szemle*, 3/1987.

András Körösényi: "Az értelmiség szellemi-politikai tagoltsága" [On the Ideological and Political Differentation of the Intelligentsia] in: Gy. Szoboszlai (ed.): *A Magyar Politikatudományi Társaság Évkönyve* [The Yearbook of the Hungarian Political Science Association] Budapest 1987, p. 43–59.

Both published in English in *Südosteuropa*, Nos. 7–8 and 11–12/1988.

and more possibility to avoid every form of political education, or to participate in it only formally, without any fear of sanctions.

It is obvious, for example, that students simply do not want to be members of the CYA (B 3-4), which was quite necessary for them before. Hungary's youth is prone to apolitism and political passivity. People try to avoid every form of politics and political education. Because of the bad memories from the fifties, they are not much interested in political education.[3]

In response to this situation, the state or official institutions resorted to a new strategy: they try to encourage participation not through negative, but through positive sanctions, such as privileges, advantages, "selective incentives".[4] Additional free time, or special career possibilities, are the gains of the "active citizen", participating in political education. Its quite useful for persons intending to attain a politically or economically privilegized position to participate in institutionalized political education. For managers or would-be managers it is a must to attend political training if they want to retain their managing posts. In terms of career and promotion, it is advantageous to participate in political education even if it is not compulsory.

3. *Formal-bureaucratic character*

There is not too much room for spontaneity and informality in this system. The governmental and the political organizations in Hungary are highly centralized,[5] and so is political education. Curricula are centrally determined in a unified way. Spontaneity as organizing principle is especially missing from the political education of youth at schools and in the political organizations. Young people feel the form and content of institutionalized political education as too abstract, hierarchical, centralized and bureaucratic.[6]

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[3] Zoltán Békés: "Dilemmas of Political Education". Paper Presented on the IPSA-RCPE Meeting in Cologne, 1987.

[4] Olson, Mancur Jr.: *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge Mass. 1963.

[5] Hubertus Knabe: "Der Kadarismus und seine Auswirkungen auf das politisch-soziale System" in Ungarn", in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 36-37/1987.

[6] Some critical opinions on the present state of the political education of youth, for example a short citation from a critical article on the pioneer's organization. ". . . It is a compulsory, formal and conceited pseudo-movement . . . Why to turn the children into hypocrites, waving flags like the grown-ups, instead of relying upon voluntary participation? We like to cite Makarenko and Gorky, but the model for this organization emerged later. It mirrors the Stalinist way of organizing state and society – with all its formalism. It is time to rebuild the pioneer movement and to transform it into a real movement, according the principles of voluntariness and self-government."

Bogáti, Péter: "Ötven forint" [Fifty Forints] in: *Élet és Irodalom, 4. 12. 1987.*

István Stumpf analyzing the political education within the Communist Youth Association points out the following: "The subjects of political education are determined from above, and the methods are also determined in the same way. Instead of the really interesting political topics, which affects youth, there is a dominance of the foreign policy issues. It is a homogenous system, without any concern for the real interests and needs of the participants. Politics is separated from its essence,

4. *Ritual character*

In the eighties, the Hungarian system of formal political education has become superficial and a formal ritual without real content and meaning. It is noteworthy that only 10% of the students of Budapest are member of the Communist Youth Association, the only legal political organization of youth. This means, that the other 90% participate only in "scientific socialism", or they try to collect their knowledge on politics in the sphere of society. At the central academies an attempt is made to introduce 'political science' instead of 'scientific socialism'. Teaching, however, will be provided by the same staff that used to teach scientific socialism. As a result there will be no genuine improvement in the level of education.

Generally, in the general public the prestige and the importance of political education are very low. It is looked upon as a "necessary evil"; the obligatory exams are taken by the students as soon as possible.

5. *Inefficiency*

Political rituals are sometimes efficient but this does not hold true in the case of political education in Hungary. Surveys of students and intellectuals whose results were widely discussed in the public have shown that in spite of the compulsory attendance of the courses on Marxism-Leninism at the universities, they are totally ignored and even rejected by a big proportion of students. Ignorance is widespread among youth on the structure and functioning of the social and political system in Hungary and in othere countries, although "citizen's knowledge" is a compulsory subject at schools. The same applies to political education in political organizations.[7] Conformity with the message of political education often results from the individual's career ambitions. In terms of generating political identification and support for the system, or providing political knowledge and information, however, political education in Hungary is inefficient. These are well known trends in other East European countries too.

Briefly, we may say that in Hungary political socialization and education are in a state of deep crisis on the one hand, the existing institutional structures the late fifties when they were established have not undergone any structural change since.[8] At the same time, the social, cultural and political environment within which the institutions of political education function has

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from the interests and the use of power. Even the language of political education is bureaucratic and abstract, dominated by the ideological phraseology inherited from the fifties and the sixties."

István Stumpf: "Szervezeti politizálás és politikai szocializáció a KISZ-ben" [Organizational Politics and Political Socialization in the YCA] in: L. Kéri (ed.): Hazai politikai szocializációs folyamatok [Political Socialization Processes in Hungary]. Budapest: MSZMP KB TTI 1988, p. 145–146.

[7] Ildikó Szabó: "Szimbólumok, személyiségek, vélemények" [Symbols, Personalities, Opinions], in: *Ifjúsági Szemle, 1/1981.*

[8] Békés, Stumpf, op. cit.

changed, and this made the system of political socialization more and more formal, ritualistic, and inefficient. This contradictory situation has produced a crisis in the institutions of political education. The political socialization of youngsters proceeds less and less in the formal channels of institutionalized political education, and more and more in the informal organizations and even counter-institutions of political education, i. e. in section C.[9]

This crisis situation of political education in Hungary may be termed schizophrenic, in sofar as there now exists a a rift between the official political images spread by the political education on the one hand, and the actually existing political reality on the other. In this country we find an oversized institutionalized system of political education, which intends to educate, mobilize and indoctrinate every citizen. Yet a majority of the society tries to escape from this formal political education, or else participates only in a formal and ritual way. The official system thus only serves those for whom political education is merely a means for attaining the good positions of society. But the crisis of the political education is only a part of the general crisis of the East-European state socialist countries. This general crisis stems from the conflict between the state and civil society. This conflict is to be felt in all social and political institutions.[10] However, there are also some additional causes of the crisis of the system of political education in Hungary. In the following, I shall shortly describe two of them.

6. *Conservativism and the over-sized character of formal political education*

All people should be influenced by the political education some way. This is the Stalinist concept, which has been preserved until today in the structure, the content, and the method of formal political education. According to Zoltán Békés:

"The political educational system established in the 1950's has essentially preserved some fundamental traits until the early 80's. It can be mainly characterized by the superabundance of ideological elements. It's most important declared goal is the transmission and propagation of an idealistic socialism derived from an abstract image of the future. Its main aspiration is to have the established political system accepted according to the provided frames of participation. The educational aspirations were motivated by the illusion that parallel to the development of the system – the political sphere gradually penetrates the whole society: it only takes time and necessitates only little effort in education, and then every member of society becomes active and involved in politics.

Besides, however, such a one-party political structure was established that made only formal, outward, supportive participation possible in official political actions. In the post World War II years, the various movements constituting the spontaneous social basis of politics were liquidated; they should have been replaced by social organizations directly guided by the dominant political party. According to this, the political education primarily focussed on making people accept externally the official policy, the abstract knowledge prevailed,

[9] Ferenc Gazsó (ed.): *Társadalmi folyamatok az ifjúság körében* [Social Processes Amond Youth], Budapest: MSZMP KB TTI 1987, p. 76–85.

[10] Elemér Hankiss: "Második társadalom" [The Second Society], in: *Valóság*, 1/1984.

simple, easily transmittable logic and knowledge panels were used. In compilation of curriculum the logic of success propaganda stressing the advantages of the new social system came across and the knowledge about foreign policy expressing the confirmation of two world systems exceeded it.

The above political education was not altered by neither the events of 1956, nor the political and economic reforms of the subsequent period. A cause of it was that the reforms slightly concerned the individual frames of political participation; the relations between the elements of political system were modified, respectively, the politics attempted to keep the economic reform processes in the economy. Another cause is the dynamic economic growth of 1950's and especially of 1960's. [...] The disturbances of the political education system started when, by the middle of the 1970's, the long-range processes characteristic of the former period changed."[11]

In reality, however, political education has become a ritual, an empty form and the existence of political education is looked upon as a "necessary evil". The over-sized character of political education hampers its effectiveness and prestige. In other words, we might summarize that political education in a formal sense is present almost everywhere, but in reality it hardly exists.

7. *Unclear functions and lack of the division of labour*

What should be the difference between civic education and special political education in a political system led by a single party? How can the dual task of educating good citizens and good communists be defined and managed, if there is only one political organization for all youngsters? The two problems stem from the lack of division of labour between the governmental (A) and the political (B) organs and organizations. The monolithic character of society, which is of course the general illness of the political system of Hungary, also contributes to the crisis of political education. Without the functional differentiation of the various fields of politics, it is not possible to set up a rational and effective division of labour between government and politics, and this holds true also for the political education.

III. Political Education in the Sphere of the Society: Counter-institutions and Reform-experiments

The crisis of formal political education led to the emergence of a type of "alternative political education" in the sphere of the civil society. This is indicated in section C of Figure 1. The common feature of these movements and experiments is that they try to develop alternatives to the institutionalized political education through the spontaneous experiments of the social forces. The search for alternatives is sometimes conscious, planned, organized, at other times it is only a spontaneous response to the crisis of formal political education. I believe that political education cannot be interpreted only in terms of

[11] Békés op. cit. p. 2-3.

institutionalized, organized education. If we extend the meaning of political education to political socialization and political learning, we must realize that political education has to encompass also non-institutionalized social structures such as social movements or informal groups and their networks, subcultures or counter-cultures. Sometimes these phenomena do not fit into the official system of political education and their influence challenges the official system.

These social phenomena may in special cases represent "functional alternatives" (R. K. Merton)[12] to the institutionalized political education.

Let's consider these social counter- or corrective institutions of political education in Hungary.

These movements, groupings and subcultures have been partly illegal and outlawed for a long time. The political system of the East-European state-socialist countries is characterized by the fact that the political institutions, especially the party and other political organs led by it, claim the right for the exclusive representation of society's interests. Therefore they treat all informal, new social-political groupings with suspicion or hostility. Especially one part of the political institutions, the so-called "social organizations", such as the official and party-lead "peace movement", the trade unions, the "workers movement", and "women's movement" (B 2) regard themselves as adequate and sole representatives of various social strata and interests. These organizations are referred to in the literature[13] as "pseudo-movements" (C 2). Real social movements and experiments in self-organization within the society are challenges to an inflexible, intolerant and monopolizing system of power and representation.

On top of the extra or counter-institutional structure of political education or socialization we can find the so-called "dissidents" (C 1). This is a highly qualified intellectual subculture, which emerged in the seventies.[14] The dissidents established counter-institutions with alternative programmes in political education for a small minority of young intellectuals "thinking otherwise". The free universities, the samisdat press and the public debates (C 1, a–c) are the main forms of this political education and socialization. The subjects treated include seminars on the "real" history of communist parties, on recent Hungarian history, on political and social problems, the reforms of and alternatives to social and political institutions. Briefly, we might say that these subjects are not adequately presented in the official media.

In the seventies, only the dissidents had an alternative political education in Hungary. But at the beginning of the eighties, a new type of alternative politics

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[12] Robert K. Merton: *Social Theory and Social Structure*. The Free Press of Glencoe, 1968.

[13] Martin Kolinsky/William Patterson (ed.): *Social and Political Movements in Western Europe*. London: Croom Helm, 1976, p. 336.

[14] Hubertus Knabe: *Ungarn-anders*. Hamburg. Rowohlt. 1988, p. 126–144. George Schöpflin: "Critical Currents in Hungary 1968–78", in: R. L. Tőkés (ed.): *Opposition in Eastern Europe*. Oxford: St. Anthony College, 1979, p. 142–197.

Hans-Henning Paetzke: *Andersdenkende in Ungarn*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1986.

appears, which are referred to as new social movements, or alternative movements.[15] These movements which are mainly concerned with issues of peace and ecology (C 2, a–b), are single-issue oriented and transitory. There are differences between the new social movements, and the dissidents. The new social movements do not address themselves to the "classical" political and ideological issues, and they are much more open and ready to cooperate with the official institutions. These movements often search for legal means to ensure their participation in policy making. Peace and ecology movements in Hungary established also seminars and lectures on their issues. Like the ecology activists, the peace movement established a network for discussions. Both movements organized international summer camps for the exchange of the experiences and for discussions. Both movements have their unofficial periodicals. The ecology movement established its own foundation, and the peace activists have contacts with the institutions of peace research in Hungary and abroad. We may say therefore that also the alternative movements of Hungary have created in alternative network of education.

There exist also clubs and associations (C 2, c) with their own network and profile, for whom peace and ecology issues are only a part of the whole programme.[16] The main issue of this "club movement" and some of the associations is an alternative political education. The subjects are varied, but the discussed issues are the ones excluded from the official political education: the problems of national identity, the situation of the Hungarian minorities abroad, and the issues of a radical economic, political and social reform in Hungary. The new social movements, the clubs and the associations mobilize much more people than the dissidents. In contrast to dissidents, participation in these movements and clubs is not very much controlled, and it is sanctioned by the state. There are partial and transitory coalitions between the movements and state institutions on the ecology and the peace issue. So, in terms of political socialization the alternative movements of Hungary seem to have a greater influence than the dissidents. The dissidents have, of course, a lasting influence on the intelligentsia through their publications. However, direct mass action and mass participation takes place mainly in the alternative movements, clubs and associations. Participants in the alternative movements are recruited from all geographical areas and all strata of society. In contrast, the dissidents are only a small intellectual elite group at Budapest.

There are some conflicts between dissidents and the alternative movements. Dissidents believe the alternative movements are too loyal to the state, whereas the ecologists think dissidents are too much obsessed with ideology. However, cooperation between the two groups does occur. Sometimes dissident

[15] Máté Szabó: "New Factors in the Political Socialization of Youth in Hungary: the Alternative Social Movements and Subcultures", in: *Praxis International*, 1/1988.

Máté Szabó: "Neue soziale Bewegungen in Ungarn" in: W. Luthardt–A. Waschkuhn (ed.): *Politik und Repräsentation*, Marburg: SP, 1988, p. 302–317.

[16] Bertalan Diczházi: "Társadalmi-politikai körök, klubok" [Social and Political Clubs] in: *Ifjúsági Szemle*, 3/1987.

leaders speak at the clubs, and ecology and peace issues are occasionally picked up in the samisdat press, and there are also common public debates and networks. In short, the emergence of the new types of alternative policy and political education in the 1980's, undermined the monopoly for an alternative political education and counter-institutions that dissidents had established in the seventies.

There were a lot of students participating in the dissidents' meeting, and the social basis of the movements, clubs and associations consists also mainly of young intellectuals and students. But there are also specific forms and initiatives for alternative political education which exist within the educational system, or which have a definitive youth character. The dissident opposition as well as the clubs and the associations emerged as an alternative public because of the general dysfunctions of the official politics, while the peace and the ecology movements also have specific causes. The student movement (C 3) arose because of the general crisis and problems of the system of education, and especially of the political education in governmental and political institutions. The student movement, like the unofficial social movements, is a new form of alternative politics, which developed in the eighties.

The student movement is made up of three elements: the self-governing student hostels, the university clubs, and since the spring of 1988, the alternative youth organizations, like the Alliance of the Young Democrats (C 3, a–c). The self-governing student hostels have their own network, periodicals, and alternative courses in political science. Attempts are being made to organize alternative political education in these colleges.[17] In contrast to the official scientific socialism education is provided in political science. The programme of these colleges is more general than the issue of self government of the dormitories: general political and social issues are discussed, similary to the movements, clubs, and associations.

The unofficial social movements, and especially the student movement pose a challenge to the Communist Youth Association, which has an official monopoly on the political representation and education of youth. The emergence of the social initiatives, and their activity in the field of politics and political education show that the Association is not up to its tasks. The challenge by the unofficial groups led some political grouping within the Association to the idea of the reform of this organization, and to a strategy of the collaboration with the informal groups.

The Council of the Universities and High Schools (B 3) declared that the Association does not want to maintain its monopoly role, but to act within a pluralistic youth movement, and work together with the initiatives of youth. In 1987 the Council started an alternative leadership training programm for their functionaries at the academies, which deals with the ideas of the social movements. The Council advocates a pluralistic youth movement, and works together with the alternative movements. The Council's steps affected the politi-

[17] István Stumpf: "A szakkollégiumokról" [Student Hostels], in: *Ifjúsági Szemle*. 1/1988.

cal climate at universities and academies, and this is very favourable for the unofficial movements and groups.

In spite of the fact, that there are also reformers within the Communist Youth Association who were ready to cooperate with the social initiatives, radicals from the student movement broke with the strategy of cooperation with the Association and established an alternative political organization. In the spring of 1988, parts of the student movement, especially the self-governing colleges of Budapest University of Economics and Law established an alternative political organization for youth, called Alliance of the Young Democrats (FIDESZ, C 3, c). It is hard to estimate the perspectives of this new initiative, which is a big challenge to the existing monopolized structure of political institutions. On the one hand, the police tried to hinder the organization, but on the other hand, Young Democrats managed to be officially accepted by the so called Youth Parliament of the Hungarian Universities.

There are similar initiatives for an alternative policy and political education on the level of the secondary schools. These pupils also participated in peace and ecology groups and clubs (C 4, c), and there are signs of a loosening of the institutionalized system of political education at this level as well. The Council for Secondary Schools of the Communist Youth Association (B 4) tried to develop reforms of the system of political education of the secondary schools, called the "reform test" (C 4, a) from 1983–86, and the "self-government experiment" from 1987 on (C 4, b). Both experiments are confined to secondary schools, which volunterily participate in the social-political experiments supported by the Alliance for working out new models of political education and self-government at schools.

As the first step, in 1983–86[18], the existing structure of the Association was blown up, and the pupils got the possibility to organize themselves according to their own ideas. The results were quite ambivalent. There were lot of problems, because the experiment was organized from above, by the Central Committee of the Association and by the teachers of the schools. It is very hard to introduce pluralism and democracy centrally and in a planned way to adolescents. The general issue of debate was the "political" character of the emerging new groups, because these were mainly private, or hobby oriented communities and clubs, which do not concern themselves with politics and political education.

The analyses of the first part of the experience have shown that there was a "missing link" in it: the dissolving of the conventional type of political organization was not connected with new proposals and possibilities. It cannot be expected that after an inefficient system of political education and socialization new alternatives should emerge spontaneously. Istead, political indifference became apparent. In the second stage of the experiment, from 1987 on, extended possibilities for participation in the self-government of schools was offered to the pupils.

[18] Tamás, Pál: *Próbareform* [Reform Test], Budapest: KISZ KB KSZT, 1987.

For children aged 6–14, the Pioneer's Organization (B 5) has responsibility for their political education. There are no real social initiatives against this formal-bureaucratic organization. At this age, except the reestablished "scout" organization only such experiences of early political socialization of children can be mentioned that run counter to the aims of the official political education. The influence of the family, of counter-cultures, subcultures and the churches (C 5, a–c) are very much different from that of the pioneer organizations,[19] and they have lasting anti-institutional effects.

In almost every Hungarian family, children are confronted with apolitism, lack of faith in the legitimacy of the system and a selfish consumerism. A minority of the children participate in subcultures, like drug-addicts, "street corner society", punks, fan-clubs etc. which rebel and protest against the totality of the institutionalized order. The role of the churches in the process of political socialization can be also counter-effective in terms of official political education. In spite of the fact, that nowadays all legal churches in Hungary accept and support the socialist social and political order, attendance at church and scout organization may make children aware of the fact that religious activities and participation in the pioneer's organization are imcompatible. In Hungary only a very small minority participates in radical religious communities and sects, where the life-style is based on religious rules and values. Sometimes this form of participation has social and political implications, like the conscious refusal of military service, etc. Naturally, children living in these alternative communities or families are very differently socialized from what is demanded by the official patterns. Their social experiences do not fit into the model of the so called "socialist personality", which the founders of the pioneer's organization expected to develop. The main traits of "socialist personality" were to be selflessness, support for the social and political order, acceptance of the existing institutions etc. These values and the goals of the pioneer's organization as defined in the Stalinist era[20] are now in contradiction with the social and political reality of present day Hungary. This situation results in a "doubled socialization" of the children within official political institutions on the one hand and alternative experiences in civil society on the other.[21] This "dual" pattern causes a schizophrenia between political educa-

[19] On the effects on children's political socialization against official political education:
Ilona Dögei: "The Role of Family in Political Socialization" in: *Ifjúsági Szemle*, 1988, English Language Special Issue.
István Kamarás: "Bázisközösségek" [On Small Religious Communities], in: *Ifjúsági Szemle*, 6/1987.
János Kőbányai: *A margón* [On the Margin], Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1986;
Paetzke, op. cit. p. 212–225.

[20] István Stumpf: "AZ úttörőszervezet szerepe a politikai szocializáció folyamatában" [The Role of the Pioneer's Organization in the Process of Political Socialization], in: *Úttörővezető*, 11–12/1985.

[21] László Kéri: "On the Problems of Political Socialization". Paper Presented on the IPSA-RCPE Meeting in Cologne 1987.
György Csepeli: "Political Socialization in Hungary". Paper Presented on the IPSA-RCPE

tion and political reality in Hungary. Unfortunately, there are no experiments for alternative political education in Hungary in this field, which could be a remedy to this schizophrenic situation.

Finally, let me compare and contrast the general characteristics of the unofficial or "social" political education experiments in Hungary with the features of the institutionalized-official system of political education (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: Characteristics of Official and Unofficial Political Education

Institutional-official (A, B)	*Social* (C)
1. Monolithic	1. Pluralistic
2. From compulsory participation to "selective incentives"	2. Voluntary participation
3. Formal-bureaucratic	3. Informal-democratic
4. Ritual	4. From illegal to tolerated
5. Inefficiency	5. Overload

1. First, unofficial or "social" political education is *pluralistic*. In contrast to the official system, no organization regards itself as the sole representative of a given interest and no one is excluded from these organizations. Everybody can choose according to his or her interest or need to participate in any form of alternative political education. Of course, pluralism means also competition. Some groups and movements, for example, compete with each other for support or funding but none has the right to exclude the other from the game. In short, the formal monopolies and the monolithic character of the official organs are countered by pluralism in the unofficial system of political education.

2. Secondly, the unofficial extra-institutional system of political education is marked by a *voluntary character*. Whereas formal political education was first compulsory and later "selective incentives" (rewards to those loyal to the system) were used, in the unofficial sphere participation in movements depends on the individual's free will. The activity in the social sphere of the political education is based on the free will of the groups and individuals. Of course, the possibilities of and access to the social action are limited by space, time and resources. For example, the students of Budapest enjoy the greatest access to unofficial political education.

3. Third, the alternative political education is *informal-democratic*. The organizing principles of unofficial political education are different from the official ones. While the latter has a formal-bureaucratic character, the former is informal, non-regulated and direct-democratic. Unofficial political education is embedded into the non-institutionalized experiences of the self-government in Hungary.

4. Fourth, unofficial political education has moved from being *illegal to tolerated*. In the Stalinist era, when formal political education was general and

Meeting in Cologne 1987. Both papers forthcoming in the publication of conference papers at F. Lang publ. house, editor B. Claussen.

compulsory, alternative political education was illegal and prohibited. The first attempts of alternative political education emerged in the seventies. But that time was characterised by a quite ambivalent situation: depending on the actual policy line, sometimes there were sanctions against unofficial political socialization and there were periods when it was tolerated. In the eighties, with the extension of the experiences of the alternative political education, and with the reform-orientation in the official politics, the extent of tolerance toward the experiments of the alternative political education is growing. There are even partial coalitions between spontaneous social movements and institutions. Official institutions start reform experiments in political education.

5. Finally, we may detect in the system of alternative political education a new problem, that of *overload*. In some spheres of the unofficial political education the participants demand that the unfulfilled tasks of formal political education shall be solved. This is an overload for the social initiatives, because their legal situation, their organization structure, their resources and their mobilization potential is not enough to fulfil this task. Signs indicate that the official system of political education is in crisis. However, the unofficial groupings cannot function instead of the official organs, they can only encourage change in official political socialization.

The state of political education in Hungary can be characterized as an institutional system in crisis with some social initiatives proposing alternative solutions to solve this crisis. The principal task for the institutionalized system is clearly to fight for the "lost youth"[22] a majority of which is not really effected by the official system, while an active minority is already engaged in alternative political education. This challenge to the existing order seems to be emerging in all the East European state socialist countries. But the existence and the state of the social initiatives for an alternative political education is very different in the various countries.

In the special case of Hungary, there are many forms of social initiatives which could support the "reconstruction" or "rebuilding" of political education. Some of the institutions are flexible enough to pick up ideas from the sphere of the society, and to experiment with reforms, or even to build up coalitions with the social initiatives. It could be a general strategy for the renewal of political education to establish coalitions between the social movements and official institutions. The official institutions should start a learning process and learn from the society. In this way the existing schizophrenia between political education and political reality could be solved.

[22] Attila Ágh: "Elveszett ifjúság" [The Lost Youth], in: *Ifjúsági Szemle*, 2/1988.

IV. Supplement: One Year After (Summer 1989)

Since I have finished the manuscript in the Summer of 1988, there were considerable changes in the political system and in the political education in Hungary, which has undergone the line of my analysis from the Summer of 1988. The trends of pluralism emerged within the political system (parties, trade unions, social movements, political organizations) parallel to the detaboo-ization and legalisation of the political education in the social sphere. Parts of the political education in the social sphere are integrated into the political one. On the other hand, there are attempts to separate the political education of the state and of the HWSP. The political education system of the HWSP will be reduced to the cadres of the party, and the network of party schools will be abolished together with the Academy of Politics. The CYA was dissolved in the Spring of 1989, and the political organization of youth got a pluralistic structure. There are attempts for the renewal of the Pioneers' Organization. On the level of the childrens, the "scouts" as a religious oriented youth organization is reorganized, together with other explicitly religious youth organizations.

The activity of the "alternative" political organizations is tolerated by the party, and in the long run they should establish their own political education. The teaching of the "citizens' knowledge" is suspended in the schools, until there will be a new curriculum worked out. There are considerable changes in the form and contents of the political education on the level of the universities and colleges, too.

These trends could be summed up as a relativization of the differences between state/political and social level of the political ducation, the integration of the social innovations into the political sphere, and the attempts of the separation between political education provided by the political organizations and the state. I hope that this transformations will lead to an establishment of a stronger civic education on the state level, and to the emergence of a pluralistic political education on the political level. These changes reduced the "underground"-character of the social level, and the dichotomy vis-a-vis the state/political level. Nevertheless, the importance of the social level will remain, and it will be developed further in the pluralistic social and political atmosphere on his own, and not any more as a substitute of the defunct state and political level.

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR GEGENWARTSKUNDE SÜDOSTEUROPAS

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Band 24 **RGW-Integration und Südosteuropa.** Herausgegeben von Roland Schönfeld.
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Eher Ratlosigkeit als der feste Wille, die „sozialistische ökonomische Integration" energisch fortzuführen, zeichnen den Rat für gegenseitige Wirtschaftshilfe (RGW) seit Jahren aus. Schwere Funktionsmängel des praktizierten Integrationsmechanismus verhindern eine effizientere internationale Zusammenarbeit. Gerade der südosteuropäische Flügel der sozialistischen Allianz probt unterschiedliche Methoden, um den RGW für nationale Entwicklungsinteressen zu nutzen.

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Die zunehmende Verschärfung der Nationalitätenkonflikte im südosteuropäischen Raum vermehrt die Bedeutung dieser Region als weltpolitischer Krisenherd. Streitigkeiten um Fragen der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit, nationale Egoismen, die Demontage von Minderheitenrechten und die Sorge um die in den Nachbarstaaten lebenden Angehörigen des eigenen Volkes bergen beträchtlichen außenpolitischen Sprengstoff. Die im vorliegenden Band von Experten aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Österreich, USA und Kanada unternommene Analyse dieser Problematik ist daher nicht nur von wissenschaftlicher, sondern auch von erheblicher politischer Bedeutung.

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